Massage Therapy Association estimates that there are nearly 300,000 massage therapists in the United States. This is double the number in 1996, and the numbers are continuing to

One might say that a few hundred thousand massage therapists, eBay entrepreneurs, and logistics specialists are not so important to our economy. One might say that the jobs in these three industries, eBay entrepreneurs. massage therapists, and logistics specialists, that these jobs are in industries that are not enough to sustain a Nation of nearly 300 million people. But, Mr. Speaker, I believe that these types of jobs are in fact critical to our economy and to this debate.

But I believe they are important for a number of reasons.

First, in terms of sheer numbers. these jobs are not insignificant. Just this handful of industries taken together represents literally millions of jobs, and in most cases we are talking about very well-paying jobs, jobs supporting families, sending kids to college, and padding retirement plans. But they are also significant because in many ways they represent the new face of the American economy: the independent contractor, the entrepreneur, the small business owner. It is very important.

Again, these people in these three industries that I have mentioned, eBay entrepreneurs, massage therapists, logistics specialists, they are part of this new economy consisting of the independent contractor, the entrepreneur, and the small business owner. These are the types of jobs that are booming the 21st century economy. Yet because of the old economy's mindset that is embedded in our employment survey, these are precisely the kinds of jobs that are overlooked in our jobs statis-

Our primary method of counting jobs in this country is the Department of Labor's Payroll, or Establishment Survey. Its numbers are gathered by asking a sampling of established corporations how many people they are hiring and how many people they are firing. For years this was a fairly reliable way of figuring out our unemployment rate. The vast majority of Americans worked in factories and businesses that had been around for a long time. And because changes in employment were due largely, as I was saying earlier, to cyclical trends, as I discussed, most workers, whether employed or unemployed, were easy to track because when we would see the downturn, we would see people laid off, and then because it was reasonably static at that time, once we saw an improvement in the economy, people would go back to those same jobs.

But as we have seen, this is no longer the case. Americans are finding jobs in new industries. They are working as independent contractors and consultants. They are starting their own businesses, all of which are difficult to

track using these old methods for determining unemployment. If we go looking for workers in their old jobs, we are not very likely to find them.

For example, Mr. Speaker, the Payroll Survey estimates that there are roughly 70,000 massage therapists working in this country. That would probably come as a surprise to the almost 300,000 massage therapists that the American Massage Therapy Association says are working in that industry today. The Department of Labor somehow managed to misplace over 200.000 workers or 70 percent of this industry's workforce. For eBay entrepreneurs the chances of getting counted are virtually zero. The Department of Labor does not currently count anyone making a living by selling or buying on eBay. No category exists for logistics specialists either. And because many of them work as independent contractors, prospects for counting seem pretty dim for those workers in logistics specialty areas as well.

Other workers who are largely getting missed by the Payroll Survey include the growing number of partners in Limited Liability Corporations or LLCs. The establishment of new LLCs is exploding, doubling in some States in just the last 3 years. But because these entrepreneurs are partners in new business startups, they are not

counted in our jobs statistics.

And the Payroll Survey is not just ill-equipped to accurately portray our economy in 2004, it has historically been a poor indicator of job creation during a recovery. During the recovery of 1992, the Department of Labor's numbers showed job creation as relatively anemic.

As more and more data became available and a clearer picture of the economy emerged, the Payroll Survey was significantly revised to show that job creation had actually been quite robust. And that was over 10 years ago, before much of the boom in independent contracting, Internet entrepreneurship, and small business startups that, as I said, are such a big part of

our economy today.

However, we do have at our disposal another survey which is strong precisely where the Payroll Survey is weak. It is the Department of Labor's Household Survey. Instead of asking businesses if they are hiring or laying off, the Household Survey asks individuals and families if they are working. By going straight to the employees, this survey is well suited to more accurately portray employment in our economy. Whereas the Payroll Survey counts established jobs in established businesses of established industries, the Household Survey counts any and all types of jobs, or more precisely, it counts people no matter what type of job they have. This approach allows the Household Survey to track workers like the self-employed. And, in fact, this survey shows that 31 percent of job growth right now is in self-employment. Thirty-one percent of our job

growth is in self-employment. In other words, one third of all job creation is entirely missed by the Payroll Survey.

Therefore, it is no accident and no mystery why the Payroll Survey shows a net loss of 2.4 million jobs in the last 3 years and the Household Survey shows a net gain of 1.4 million jobs. That discrepancy is pretty significant during the highly politicized time that we are in, and it is huge in terms of the average American's peace of mind, which is why an honest discussion of what is really going on in the economy is so critical.

To be sure, while a fast-paced dynamic economy in which new jobs are constantly being created is good for all of us in the long run, it also means that rapid change is a way of life. That can be exciting. And, Mr. Speaker, we all know it can also be scary. The only way we can continue to succeed and lead the world as the strongest, most innovative economy is to significantly step up our commitment to education and training and, yes, retraining.

□ 2200

New jobs mean new skills to be learned, new technologies to develop and harness. But if we keep competing and innovating and remain committed to learning and using new skills, our 21st-century economy will continue to thrive and, Mr. Speaker, so will American workers. They are doing it today, and they can continue to do it in the future. We will keep creating new and better jobs, whether it is a specialized service in a booming industry like logistics or massage therapy, or an increasingly skilled part of a globallycompetitive sector like software engineers whose jobs are supported by inexpensive computer programming labor in India, or an entirely new line of work that was just unheard of, inconceivable just a few years ago, like e-Bay entrepreneurship where, as I said, approaching a half a million Americans are working in their full-time jobs.

There is no doubt that many of the cutting-edge industries of today will eventually become routine or even obsolete. What is important is that through technology, innovation, investment, and education hard-working Americans keep on embracing change and propelling our economy forward.

REFLECTIONS ON TRIP TO IRAQ

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ROGERS of Alabama). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 2003, the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. PENCE) is recognized for the remainder of the majority leader's hour, approximately 28 minutes.

Mr. PENCE. Mr. Speaker, I rise tonight to engage in a colloquy for the remainder of this Special Order joined, as I was in travel, by my colleague, the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. FLAKE), also of the sixth district, him of Arizona, me of Indiana. The gentleman from Arizona and I had the privilege of traveling in the last 2 weeks to cities in Iraq under the leadership of the distinguished subcommittee chairman, the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BUR-TON), of the Committee on International Relations. On this trip, as we will reflect tonight, we not only, as this photograph suggests, had the opportunity to spend time with soldiers in the instance of this photograph in the belly of a C-130 on our way into Baghdad. But more compellingly, it seems to me, Mr. Speaker, today, as we went through a vigorous and, in many ways, historic debate in this Congress, about the merits of Operation Iraqi Freedom, we found ourselves arguing one between another about the existence of certain types of weapons and the credibility of arguments. It seems that there was a group of people that was left out of that discussion today, and it was the people of Iraq and how they have benefited or how they have been moved or how they have been inspired by the heroism of American and allied forces in Operation Iragi Freedom.

It is in that spirit, Mr. Speaker, that the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. FLAKE) and I come together tonight on the House floor to reflect on our experiences, principally during the first congressional delegation trip into the

city of Basra, Iraq.
Basra, which is an area of southeastern Iraq under British control, had. prior to 2 weeks ago, never entertained American Congressmen. So when we arrived in Basra that day, we were literally, the four of us, we were the first Members of Congress that these Iragis, regular, rank-and-file Iraqis, men and women from every station in life had a crack at, had a chance to speak to. We had truly a unique opportunity meeting with religious leaders, political leaders, but, more to the point as we will emphasize in our reflections today, regular Iraqis who shared, as I will reflect and detail and then yield to my colleague, the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. FLAKE), they shared a story that we are not hearing in America today. And I would offer humbly, Mr. Speaker, we did not hear very much about it on this floor today; and it was an outpouring of gratitude and appreciation for American soldiers and allied soldiers who had freed them from the tyranny of Saddam Hussein, and just as intense was their enthusiasm and their passion in almost a grade-school level enthusiasm that I saw for democracy that is beginning to take hold.

With that, Mr. Speaker, I yield to my colleague, the gentleman from Arizona, for such remarks on the trip as he would make.

Mr. FLAKE. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the opportunity to be here, and I appreciate my colleague including me in this Special Order. It was a wonderful trip and a great experience and what a momentous time to be in Iraq, to be there as they were drafting their interim Constitution.

I have had the good fortune over the years of being in two countries when

they have been drafting a constitution. I spent time in southern Africa in the country of Namibia in 1990 when they were sitting down after their first elections and drafting their first Constitution; and I was able to see that process firsthand, to see a country draft its first constitution and actually look to the future with hope and optimism. It was a similar experience here, if the gentleman will recall. In Baghdad we were meeting with Ambassador Bremer, and on the coffee table was a copy of the interim constitution that they would approve later that night, with a scratch-out here, a circle here, a white-out here; and it was just amazing to see that. It was appreciated, I think, on a number of levels.

As the gentleman mentioned, we were able to go to Basra, and one thing that strikes you when you go to Basra is the utter neglect that the southern half of Iraq has faced over the years. Saddam Hussein, after the first Gulf War, simply repressed the people in every way possible. The infrastructure of southern Iraq was completely neglected. The streets, the buildings falling apart, because he wanted to punish the people there. And the worst part, obviously, were the killings, mass graves, over 400,000 people already discovered: and it is feared that over a million were killed over the last couple of years by Saddam Hussein. That was striking.

But like the gentleman from Indiana, I felt the optimism of the Iraqi people, particularly in the south, who had undergone a lot over the last couple of years and finally could see forward to a bright future. And that feeling was certainly palpable there as we met with business people and with students and with clerics and others. It was a great opportunity. It is difficult when you are in the north to actually meet with regular Iraqis, because the security situation is so tight; but we had the opportunity in southern Iraq.

With that, I yield back to the gentleman

Mr. PENCE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his comments. In fact, as my friend from Arizona said today in his remarks during the debate over the resolution, the opulence of Saddam Hussein's palaces is rendered even more immoral when one sees the squalor in which he forced the largely Shi'ia population of southern Iraq to live in huge communities like Basra, and where we see sandstone homes, a sewage system that has 20 percent of the capacity that it needed. So as one Iraqi told me, for years a good rain in the streets become the sewers. Yet, as we traveled to Baghdad, we saw, having visited not just a couple of Saddam Hussein's palaces, but the sheer opulence, the decadent self-indulgence was, in my judgment, sinful. But it showed the immorality.

Mr. FLAKE. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, we were told that Saddam Hussein had built some 70 palaces just in the last 10 years during the

time of the sanctions for food program, or the oil for food program, where every drop of oil revenue was supposed to be spent for the benefit of the Iraqi people, for food or for medicine. Instead, Saddam Hussein spent an estimated \$2 billion building palaces for himself and the people of Iraq surely suffered during that time.

Mr. PENCE. Mr. Speaker, our first meeting, as is captured in this photograph with the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. FLAKE) and myself and our delegation, on the right was with a series of Iraqi religious and political leaders. We see a Muslim imam here, the Catholic bishop of Basra was in attendance and warmly received by those present. But my memory of this meeting had more to do with the very silent Muslim cleric who sat at the end of the table, the gentleman wearing ancient garb and a long beard who, after we had gone through the series of questions about everything from border jurisdiction to the process of reconstruction, it fell to us to be able to ask questions. And up to this point, we had heard mostly from these religious leaders who were quite chatty through an interpreter, and this gentleman had been icily silent.

At that point I remember asking, What do you think of our decision to remove Saddam Hussein? And before any of these three could answer, the gentleman in the white headdress suddenly leaned forward and began to speak urgently in Arabic and pointing his finger in my direction with his eyes on fire. And as I waited for the translation, the interpreter explained that he had said. Saddam Hussein is a nightmare, and the day you ended his regime, you lifted a dark curtain from our people and the daylight was able to shine in. It was for me an extraordinary moment where this icy and quiet figure who was clearly suspicious of American officials traveling thousands of miles to sit down in a delegation meeting, suddenly had his moment to speak a truth from his heart, and it was a truth about a nightmare that the United States of America had brought to an end.

I yield for the gentleman's reflections.

Mr. FLAKE. Mr. Speaker, that was an extraordinary meeting, to see, as we were able to do, to talk with the clerics who were repressed so much over the past couple of years. The gentleman had a previous slide there when we were in the C-130 with the troops, and it reminded me of perhaps the most special time in Iraq was being able to meet with the troops at Tallil Air Base. We were able to go to the mess hall, and I was looking for any Arizonans who might be present. It turned out there were a number of them. In fact, I ran into a cousin of mine from my hometown that I did not know was there, and another one from my hometown, and pretty soon there were a dozen or so. The 222nd National Guard unit out of Flagstaff was there and

doing a great job. They had been there about 11 months and obviously were anxious to get home and see their families

But what struck me was how they felt that they were there for a cause, and that morale was high, despite what some will tell us. It was a very difficult post for them to be in, obviously, very difficult and dangerous circumstances. But they were proud to do it, and they were proud to serve and anxious to see their families and be reunited once again. There were a lot of highlights on the trip and that was certainly one, to meet with the troops. And then we went to Baghdad and were able to meet with other troops from Arizona as well. Arizona is well represented in Iraq, and they are doing a great job; and I was just proud to be associated with them.

Ĭ yield back. Mr. PENCE. Mr. Speaker, I have tried to explain that. I admire the way my friend describes the morale of the troops, because I really believe it is also a good description of the enthusiasm of the Iraqis, some 60 or 70 with whom we spent a considerable amount of time that day in Basra, that regardless of the arguments that we have here on this floor and across this country and, frankly, through the course of a Presidential election year, all of which are appropriate, about evidence and information and intelligence, it struck me that that was completely irrelevant to the cause as it was understood by our soldiers that we met in Iraq and the Iraqis that we met; that this was a cause really between good and evil, between a tyrant who oppressed and murdered over a million of his own countrymen, 400,000 bodies of men and women, boys and girls who have been found in mass graves so far, over 800,000 Iraqis remain missing, people dragged from their homes in the dead of night without due process of law, never to be heard from again, versus the forces of the Western World coming together for the rule of law and for ending that tyranny. I am very grateful for my colleague's reference to a cause, because it emanated out of everything that I sensed about the people with whom we spoke.

□ 2215

Mr. FLAKE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. Project) for yielding.

PENCE) for yielding.

Another highlight of the trip, obviously, was meeting, and I believe there is a slide coming up, meeting with some of the former prisoners of war. It was just striking to talk to them and to hear about the repression that they had experienced and to hear about the work they are currently doing to try to reunite family members with others that they have not seen or at least to find the remains of family members who have been missing for so long. A difficult task for them, obviously. But these people have been through a whole lot

For those who I heard make references earlier today to we went to

Iraq, for what, because Saddam had drained the marshes or drained the swamps in Iraq, the reference to Saddam Hussein draining the area where the Marsh Arabs lived and what an ecological and societal disaster that has become, as actual as that is, it pales in comparison to the human lives that were lost: over a million killed, some gassed, weapons of mass destruction used against the Kurds, mass graves found, people buried alive. The stories go on and on and on. It was just trying to hear that.

My colleague has some experience with that.

Mr. PENCE. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman would yield, I must tell him that that time that we spent, and this is another photograph of our time with Iraqis during this trip, but the time that we spent with former political prisoners, one man who had been jailed a dozen times in the course of 25 years, to hear not just that individuals were dragged from their homes in the dead of night if they were thought to be suspected of disloyalty of the regime, not just that those individuals were tortured by the regime of Saddam Hussein, but to hear from these men that it was routine and ordinary practice to torture prisoners' wives in front of them, their mothers, and their children in order to extract information: and that oftentimes the torture would result in the death of a loved one and then the summary execution of the prisoner; and that this happened in

numbers that boggle the mind.

And I must tell my colleague that I returned with a burden on my heart to carry this message back on behalf of these good people in Iraq for whom I developed a tremendous amount of affection and respect, that they lived in a hellish environment, subject to the most unspeakable cruelty by the tyranny of Saddam Hussein.

We cannot lightly pass over that and we cannot lightly ignore that and we cannot trivialize that, regardless of whether or not the human rights record of this regime was a central focus in the public debate prior to the war. It is nonetheless a fact that cries out from over 270 mass graves that have been found so far and the remains of some 400,000 Iraqis. I yield to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. FLAKE).

Mr. FLAKE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding. We often hear about the carnage and bloodshed since the war unofficially ended. The day after we left, there were over 200 killed in a series of bombings in mosques. Just today some 30 people were killed. So those things draw the most attention, as they should, and it is a terrible thing to happen. And our troops, we have lost a number of them. We continue to lose them. It is a very dangerous situation there.

But often overlooked are the positive and good things that are happening. I think that that is one thing that we brought back from our trip. One thing that was pointed out to us is the day, our first day there, the day prior they had set a record for oil output for a day since the war that the oil production is coming back. This is with equipment, obviously, that was neglected and abused during the past decade and is rendered almost unusable; and still, with our engineers and others, they have been able to go in and actually produce record oil output for a day.

Also, electricity we were told that we were actually producing more electricity in Iraq than was being produced not during the war but before the war. So things are happening.

It is much to the credit of our engineers and our individuals who are going over from this country doing contract work and USAID and other groups who are actually doing some very good things for the Iraqi people.

Education, I know that my colleague will want to talk about some of the education work going on, our democracy programs and whatnot. So I will yield for that.

Mr. PENCE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding. And I think it is a wonderful place for us as we approach the end of our conversation tonight to end it that I am overwhelmed by the sense of gratitude expressed by the Iraqis with whom we interacted in Basra. I mean, the touching of the heart, I came to find out virtually every Iraqi that we met ended their conversation with me, and I know with the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. FLAKE), by touching their hearts. And I would later find that this is a form of deep respect in the Muslim and Islamic tradition. It is the touching of the heart that means the ultimate expression of gratitude.

When we met with political prisoners and we thanked them for their candor and we thanked them for being willing to meet with us, they touched their hearts and bowed to us. And in this instance here where we visited one of hundreds of democracy workshops that are taking place all over Iraq, and here you see Ana who is a young Islamic Iraqi woman, wearing an abaya, and she is presenting me one of my most treasured possessions since becoming a Congressman. It is a stack of handwritten poems in English about what freedom means to her. And she illustrated the poems with almost childlike caricatures of freedom of religion and freedom of expression and the right to vote with a small ballot box.

The enthusiasm of all the people in this room that spoke broken English was very endearing to me and profoundly inspiring. Not only had we managed in Operation Iraqi Freedom to bring to an end a darkness, as one Iraqi said to me that day in Basra, a darkness that had descended on their people, but also the daylight of democracy, the daylight of freedom and liberty streaming into Iraq. And it is being greeted with enthusiasm.

The devastating bombing that took place today claiming lives in Baghdad, the car bombs that were detonated the day after we left Baghdad Airport, it was the bloodiest day since the end of major combat hostilities, all draw the mind to the violence.

They draw, it seems to me, the American public's focus to a very small number of Iraqis who seek to use violence to reclaim the dictatorial power they once enjoyed when this is a country of 10 million people, a sample of which we met, who were overflowing with gratitude to the people of the United States and our allies in this cause.

As this picture attests, and I hope it is on screen and, Mr. Speaker, I hope it can be seen, that you can see that enthusiasm on their faces, that enthusiasm for democracy that I encountered in Iraqi after Iraqi. And it is an enthusiasm I believe will be a foundation for a free Iraq for decades to come. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. FLAKE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for allowing me to participate. I will say a few words and yield back to my colleague to close.

The thing that struck me after all the experiences we had in Iraq, our last picture there in Baghdad we climbed on the C-130 to fly back to Kuwait and we waited outside of our plane while the ceremony was held where the body of an Estonian soldier who was killed the day before who, I believe, was trying to detonate an explosive on the street and was killed by a sniper as he was there, was placed on our plane. And we flew out with the body of that young soldier in the belly of our plane.

And it was quite a surreal experience to fly over Iraq, to fly over ancient Babylon, the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, the cradle of civilization with the casualty of the latest

conflict in our plane.

But it really made me think and ponder back about our time with the Iraqi people and about the experiences that we had where the yearning for freedom is strong; it is in the soul of every man and woman. And as our President has said, freedom is not a gift to the world; it is God's gift to mankind. It is something that is felt by everyone and certainly expressed in the gratitude that was expressed by people touching their heart when they would talk to us, that our country was able in some small way to bring that gift back to them to have them experience that God-given gift of freedom. It was a wonderful ex-

Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the opportunity to be here. I thank the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. Pence) for allowing me to participate in this col-

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Mr. PENCE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. FLAKE) for yielding and for his participation. And I think those words especially eloquent. Because it was the gratitude and the enthusiasm for their freedom that I found most moving among the Iraqis that we met.

I close with a picture, Mr. Speaker, that I think the gentleman from Ari-

zona (Mr. Flake) actually took. We were visiting the second of two palaces of Saddam Hussein now being rehabilitated into a hospital for Iraqis in Baghdad. And as we were making our way, we came across regular Iraqis who were moving materials. And as you see here, and I hope it is evidenced in the picture, the enthusiasm with which we as Americans were greeted was overwhelming. People stopping, smiling, reaching out.

I did not even expect that the thumbs up symbol would be international, but it was. And you see the warmth and you see the generous spirit that is present among the Iraqi people. I say without hesitation, as I said to many people upon my return, I fell in love with the Iraqi people. They are bright, visionary, optimistic, educated, and a people that are of such strong opinions that I thought they were from the Midwest in most of our conversations.

But in the midst of all of it. I came away with an image that I had a burden, Mr. Speaker, to come back and as we consider this important resolution today, even to help finish the debate today with my colleague from Arizona (Mr. FLAKE), to try and focus this debate on the real beneficiaries of Operation Iraqi Freedom, because certainly Operation Iraqi Freedom brought down a tyrant who represented, as the President concluded, a threat to the United States of America and our allies and that clear and present danger justified our decision to go to war. But the true beneficiaries are these Iraqis and the generations of Iraqis who will follow them, who will be born in a free country, that will live under not the rule of one, but the rule of law. And they will live under a constitution that is, as Ambassador Bremer said to us, not so much a revolutionary document, as for this part of the world and its torn history, a radical document, with freedom of religion, freedom of expression, freedom of speech, and equality of the gen-

This is an astonishing accomplishment. And I am here to report very simply, Mr. Speaker, that the Iraqi people that we met with, some four or five dozen in the course of our days in Basra and Baghdad two short weeks ago know that. They understand that. They are deeply and profoundly grateful to the people of the United States, to the families of our men and women in uniform for the sacrifices that have been made on their behalf.

And they are deeply hopeful and deeply enthusiastic and deeply ambitious to see democracy and a constitutional republic take hold in this beleaguered land.

With that, Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague, the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. FLAKE).

□ 2230

MEDICARE PRESCRIPTION DRUG BILL

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ROGERS of Alabama). Under the Speak-

er's announced policy of January 7, 2003, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PALLONE) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, earlier this week, an international consulting firm that specializes in monitoring the pharmaceutical industry released a report that showed that prescription drug spending in the United States rose 11 percent last year, and Mr. Speaker, I have heard President Bush plans to highlight his health care achievements this week, and undoubtedly he will boast about the passage of his prescription drug legislation.

However, Mr. Speaker, seniors have already done the math and realize that the President's law will not help them with the ever-increasing costs of their

prescription drugs.

Just consider, a senior who now spends \$1,000 a year on prescription drugs will end up paying at least \$857 a year under the law passed by the Republican majority here in the House and signed into law by the President. Seniors with bills of \$5,000 a year will still pay at least \$3,920 under the Republican law. I do not understand how the President can tout this law as helpful to seniors when you look at those statistics.

The trouble is that both the House Republican leadership and the President are having a difficult time selling this bad prescription drug law to seniors. Back when we were about to vote on this bill last year, the President was having a difficult time selling the plan to some of my fellow Republican colleagues right here on the House floor. In order to overcome the skepticism that not only most of the Democrats but even some of the Republicans had, President Bush and his administration got involved in some questionable activities that continue today.

Now, these activities are outlined in an editorial yesterday in the New York Times which was titled "The Actuary and the Actor," and I do not like to read the entire editorial usually in the newspaper, but I have to this evening, Mr. Speaker, because I just think that this New York Times editorial says it all, about how this administration is essentially misleading the public with regard to this Medicare bill, just like they misled many of my colleagues on the Republican side who ended up voting for the bill that night when we sat here for almost 3 hours before the voting was closed.

The New York Times editorial is as follows: "An Orwellian taint is emerging in the Bush administration's big victory last year in wringing the Medicare prescription drug subsidy from a balky Congress. The plan is being sold to the public through propagandistic ads disguised as TV news reports, and it turns out the government's top Medicare actuary was muzzled by superiors during the debate about the program's price tag.

"Richard Foster, one of the government's foremost Medicare experts, says